National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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ADVERTISEMENTS, 10 cents per line each insertion.

Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

GOV. SEYMOUR SPEAKS.

[Extracts from a speech delivered at Utica, Nov. 6, by the newly elected Democratic Governor of New York.]

THE first great cause of our success, that which made the deep under-swell that bore us on to victory, *were the letters written by our soldiers from the battle-field*, imploring the North to awake, and to rebuke by their bloody fanaticism. More clearly than others they see the errors which brought the present calamities upon our country. The joy which our success will give to Union-loving and Constitution-loving people is the blood which is most strongly felt among those who are fighting for our flag. We have not only given them new vigor, but we have weakened the rebellion against which they are combating. They now fight for the definite purpose of restoring the Union as it was and upholding the Constitution as it is. They are now relieved from depressing uncertainties as to the object of the contest, and of the feeling that they were engaged in a vague, blind and indefinite struggle to carry out the theories of visionary fanatics, or of being made the instruments to excite servile insurrections, or of being dragged into a revolting war against the lives of women and of children.

The results of the late elections will carry us back to the policy of our fathers. They will give renewed vigor to the principles of our Constitution. Amid all the confusion of this civil war, its solemnities, its bloodshed, its calamities, our people have by their ballots reaffirmed and reëstablished the Constitution of the United States. They have signified in this emphatic manner that the sword without the sanction of public opinion is powerless. The war now takes a new phase. We hold up to the people of the South not only the penalties of disobedience, but the blessings and all the advantages of submission to that Constitution. We have given them a platform of principles of primary importance, on which the Conservative men of the South, who feared that they were unsafe within its limits, that the Conservative men of the North are able to put down fanatical agitators and unwilling disunionists, on behalf of a single will from a Southern State. The doctrine that there is a law higher than the Constitution, which justifies resistance to the statutes of the land, or to rightful authority, has been solemnly condemned. Our government has received new strength. *That seditious spirit which has prompted the Northern Governors to give a conditional obedience to the constitutional demands of government, has been rebuked.* Treasonable efforts to coerce the Executive into a line of policy opposed to his convictions of duty have been condemned by the public verdict.

Our armies will now be permitted to gain victories in the vicinity of our Capital, as they have heretofore won them in other fields of action. The National credit will be strengthened by greater economy and honesty in the conduct of affairs. It will also be strengthened, because we propose an object for this war that can be attained—the restoration of the Union. All doubt and all fear of the permanency of government has received new strength. That seditious spirit which has prompted the Northern Governors to give a conditional obedience to the constitutional demands of government, has been rebuked. Treasonable efforts to coerce the Executive into a line of policy opposed to his convictions of duty have been condemned by the public verdict.

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But we are obliged to probe deeper. The secret spring of this ceaseless and unchristian hatred, and the exultation at our presumed overthrow as a nation, is the nature of our free institutions. No nation can exist in the Old World that is not pledged and committed to maintain, at every hazard, the old social and political condition, in which the few rule the many. For mankind to slip their necks, therefore, out of this yoke, escape to a country planted on broad free principles, and demonstrate the feasibility and prosperity of self-government, is the crime which can never be forgiven or forgotten. This heinous sin lies at the door of America. This freedom of the human mind makes us feared and hated. And a sneer of contempt, and a howl of passionate exultation at the rupture of the bonds of our States, and the woes and wickednesses of civil war, has passed through the world. Even the people, misled and deceived by their lords and masters, catch the same tone, and not knowing that our cause is their cause, madly and blindly fall into the snare of the same ungenerous scorn and bitterness. Even the lately-arrived or the imperfectly-assimilated emigrants often turn their influence and votes in the same direction, and virtually say, Let the American Union be a thing of the past. The Savior among nations, the universal enemy, is Cruelly America. We put the case thus roughly in general outline, but the reality is seen in true proportion.

We know we are far from being a perfect people. We know that we are far from being either infallible or impeccable. We do not claim sinlessness. But mark, it is not because we have lived out so specially the principles of our institutions, that we become the object of such bitter hatred. It is because we have had a local and transient slavery —the shell of the seed on the uprisen plant of liberty —that the Old World hates us so cordially. Rather it is because we have succeeded so well in the experiment of liberty that our example has proved dangerous and odious to all the hereditary principalities and powers. Let us take heart, then, and not be daunted. We are vindicating more than our Union, nationality or Constitution. We are the champions of a principle. We are contesting the capacity of man to govern himself, the dignity of human nature, the rights and interests of the people. A few clear, calm thinkers in Europe see this fact now, and cheer the Union armies in the battle for the human race, and the divine progressive civilization of the nineteenth century. All men will see it hereafter, and will read it in the everlasting verdict of history, and the judgments of mankind.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1862.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

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WHERE IS THE CHURCH?

OUR nation is in the midst of a crisis involving not only great loss and great peril of various kinds, but imminent danger to our very existence as a nation.

Shall we continue to exist as the United States of America? Who can tell? Various officials connected with the government declare that we shall not only live undivided, but triumph and prosper. The same persons, twelve, fifteen, eighteen months ago, spoke in the same tone of absolute assurance, and promised us these same things in a very brief period, and at a price far short of what we have already paid without even an approach toward success. Can we still trust them, after such repeated and fearful failures? Even on the supposition that they are honest and well-meaning, can we still believe in their capacity, assume them competent to judge of the situation, and continue patiently to make trial of their method, without seeking for a better?

Again, it must be inquired, shall we, united or divided, come out of this crisis with the assurance that it is the last, of its kind? When the war shall cease, will it be possible for us to apply ourselves to of our prosperity, wounds and the great adjustment outbreak of a similar trouble from the same fruitful cause? Must those who rebuild our ruined walls continue, like Nehemiah, to hold the sword in one hand while they wield the trowel with the other? Or shall every fragment of this root of bitterness be dug up and burned with fire, before we again attempt to establish ourselves upon the soil corrupted by it? These are questions of fearful moment.

If our danger were only from without, it might easily be met and conquered. Slavery is the cause of the rebellion and of the war. If all the supporters of the government were united in the determination to destroy slavery, and to use the obvious and natural means for this purpose, the work would be easy, and the conquest speedy, sure and final.

There are three hundred thousand slaveholders (300,000) and no more, in this whole country. Of the special big democracies of slaveholders, those who own ten or more slaves, there are only one hundred thousand (100,000). This was the real force with which we had to contend when the war commenced; for though millions more have been, and are still, enlisted in their cause, millions of blacks working, and millions of whites working and fighting, the great bulk of these, that is to say all the blacks and most of the whites, might easily, by the use of proper means, have been detached from them and attracted to the support of the government.

It needs no argument to show that the blacks would, with the utmost heartiness and promptitude, have come to the support of the government against the rebels, had that government openly made them the offer of freedom and protection as soon as the outbreak of war had removed the constitutional obstacles to that course. Since, while the government was in league with their oppressors, they had frequently risked, not merely its opposition, but the rifles and hounds of their masters, and the chance of dying under the lash if they were caught, and had made their way by tens of thousands to the Northern States and to Canada, they would most certainly have accepted an offer of freedom and protection from the President, gladly giving him their aid in the subjugation of the rebels, their enemies and his. The class of Southern people called "poor whites" have been oppressed by the slaveholding oligarchy little less than the slaves, but have consented to the oppression, some through fear, some from despair or any change of system, and still more from being satiated with the vices of a slaveholding community. Slavery shuts out those people from the possession of land, most of the fertile portion being monopolized by the slaveholders. At least half this class would gladly have joined the government against the rebels, if, simultaneously with the adoption of measures for the immediate abolition of slavery, the offer of land had been made them from the estates forfeited by rebellion. These two measures, if they had been taken by the government at the commencement of the war, would very speedily have destroyed the unity of the rebel States, making each one a house divided against itself.

To bring the slaves and the "poor whites" into alliance with the government against the rebels is no longer so easy a task as it was. The slaves have seen too much reason to distrust us, and have in many cases suffered severely for their offers of service to our cause; and the protracted war has increased the malignity with which Southern men and women viewed Northern ones, and has made them, much more than formerly, united in absolute hatred of us. Nevertheless, these things still can be done, and the abolition of slavery, and the attraction of the Southern blacks and a portion of the whites to our side, is the only way in which our enterprise can possibly succeed. To these things we must necessarily apply ourselves, or else make up our minds to submission, or defeat, or an indefinitely protracted war.

The President moves very slowly, very cautiously, and with apparent unwillingness, in the direction of emancipation. He still clings to the hope of *conciliating* the Border State rebels. He still holds the monstrous idea that it is not best, nor even safe, to cease entirely from persecution, but that we must banish those who are made free. He has expressed his desire to do the will of the people, when that shall be manifested; but, alas, the people also are divided in opinion and feeling.

How shall the President now be wrought upon, or how shall the people be moved to move the President, to net more vigorously towards the utter abolition of slavery? Time does, and the rebels have yet a chance to adopt the friendly suggestion of Sir Culling Eardley (at the late Annual Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in London) that they compete with President Lincoln, take the wind out of his sails by an emancipation earlier than his, and thus lay a foundation for success in the war, and moreover for the respect and sympathy of Europe."

No Church in this land has been the main bulwark of slavery, but God, in his mercy, now gives it yet another opportunity to do efficient service in the cause of freedom and righteousness. Mr. Lincoln has repeatedly asked not only for prayer but for counsel. He has strongly expressed his wish that manifestations of public sympathy and feeling be made, which may show him the popular will, and make it plain what course on his part will best secure its firm support. If large bodies of the Northern clergy, with or without the coöperation of their Churches, would assure the President of their approval of the Emancipation proclamation, and of their hearty readiness to support him in such *further* movement towards the same end as he may see to be needful, this would have immense weight towards securing a correct decision of the great question.

The clergy would not move against slavery while that institution was popular and powerful, and while numerous Reverend slaveholding brethren sat, spoke and voted in the same ecclesiastical bodies with themselves. Now both these temptations are taken out of their way. The Southern brethren have turned their backs upon the Church as well as the State, and slavery is so far fallen that it never can regain its old supremacy. Slavery never can go up again. The question remaining is, whether it will pull this country down with it to a common ruin. If the clergy of the North would strongly urge the President to do more, rather than less, in the way of emancipation, and volunteer to him the assurance that any movement of that sort which he might make would be welcomed and sustained by the religious sentiment of the country, it could hardly fail to turn the wavering scale in favor of freedom.

As to the propriety of such a movement in itself, and as to the need of it as a stimulus to the lingering President, no doubt can be entertained. That such interposition would weigh strongly in his mind, at a time when our civil and military necessities in one direction, is equally clear. The point in the same religious sentiment of a country, expressing itself in support of a practical application of justice and righteousness to affairs of State, must have weight in circumstances like ours, and will surely cause itself to be respected. The only question is—Has the Church vitality enough remaining to *wish* to use such an influence, and to put forth the effort required to make it effectual? Thus far, its leaders have seemed to put more trust in chariots and horses than in the advantage either of turning from sin, or turning to righteousness.

SCHEMES OF NORTHERN TRAITORS.

The Tribune is informed, on what it deems reliable authority, that certain leaders of the Northern Democracy have opened clandestine negotiations with the head traitors at Richmond, looking to a reconstruction on the following basis:

"1. The States now in rebellion are to elect Members to the *present* Congress, who are to present themselves at Washington and claim seats in the House, precisely before the first day of January next. The Members so chosen are to be fully in the rebel interest, but are not to be suspected who have no compromising participation within the strict definition of the Federal Constitution.

"2. The House being so filled will at once have a conjoint Conservative and Rebel majority, who will proceed to modify the Constitution in such manner as substantially ended—that the rebel States are all duly represented in the House—that, consequently, his proclamation of freedom is null and void, and slavery is duly under the protection of the Constitution.

"3. Congress, thus reconstituted, is to proceed forthwith to repeal all acts hearing hard upon the traitors of the last two years, and to pass such other as may be necessary to secure perfect immunity and impunity to them all.

"4. A Convention of the States is to be called, wherein the united Democratic and Conservative Rebel strength is expected to be overwhelming, and is to be pledged beforehand to make whatever changes in the Constitution the slaveholding and slave-breeding interests may deem essential to their own future security and permanent well being."

It is said that these are in substance the propositions forwarded from New York to Richmond by the first envoy, and that they were not accepted by the rebel chiefs, who insisted on Disunion as the basis of peace, not, however, closing the door against future negotiation. The second envoy is supposed to be now in Richmond, or on his way thither.

There is no inherent improbability in this story, though the Democratic papers affect to deny that it is true. That the semi-traitors of the North have some conspiracy on foot for the defeat of the President's scheme of emancipation and the salvation of slavery we have little doubt; but we believe they were sorely disconcerted by the removal of McClellan, and consequently are now at their wit's end in the attempt to discover the means whereby they can hope to succeed in their treacherous plot. Their allies in arms days after the election for the filing of the returns. Until that time expires it is not likely we shall have any official declaration of the result. Till then the partisans of Knox and Burnside will sanguine of ultimate victory. Probably the defeated candidate will contest the election of the other, whichever way the result is decided.

It is unfortunate that the Constitution of Missouri forbids the Legislature to abolish slavery; otherwise it would no doubt make haste to accept the proposition of the President for compensated emancipation. But it may, through the taxing power, strike the hateful system a fatal blow. A tax of $100 per head for all persons held as slaves, accompanied by a law forbidding the sale of slaves to go out of the State, would bring the great majority of masters to their senses, and make them willing to emancipate for any compensation that may be offered.

PIETY IN THE REBEL ARMY.—Our readers remember the Rev. Dr. Stiles, who figured for some years as Secretary of the Southern Aid Society, and whose piety was "a sweet smelling savor" in the nostrils of the New York *Observer*, *Journal of Commerce*, and the supporters of slavery generally. When the rebellion broke out, he scampered off to the South, to give what aid he might to the slaveholding traitors. He has been employed, it seems, as a chaplain in the rebel Army of the Potomac; and we have before us a letter from him, copied from a Richmond paper, giving a glowing account of "the happy religious condition" of the rebel soldiery. One would think from his report that treason in arms makes the atmosphere most congenial to piety, and that there is nothing like a rebellion in the interest of slavery to bring souls to the very gate of heaven! In Gen. Lawton's brigade there is "a more decided state of religious excitement"; the brigade body of the soldiers in some of the regiments "meet for prayer and exhortation every night, exhibit the deepest solemnity, and present themselves numerously for the prayers of the Chaplains and the Church"; and "quite a pleasant (!) number express a hope in Christ." In Gen. Trimble's and the neighboring brigades "there is in progress one of the most glorious revivals I ever witnessed," etc., etc., through the whole gamut of religious cant, and ending with this postscript: "I have opened this letter the second time to inform you of the widespread of holy influence. In Gen. Pickett's division, also, there are said to be revivals of religion."

What a commentary upon the popular religion of the country, that all its most cherished phonomens may be and often are prodnced among those devoted to the support and propagation of slavery!

VOICE OF THE SOLDIERS.—The correspondent of *The Tribune* at Corinth, Mississippi, says: "The soldiers here are almost universally in favor of the late proclamation. It was received in our camp with shouts of applause." Similar reports are constantly received from almost every division of the Northern Army. It is our firm belief that two-thirds if not three-fourths of the soldiers, if they had the opportunity, would eagerly vote in favor of the proclamation; and this in spite of the efforts of pro-slavery officers to mislead them and inflame their prejudices against the negroes.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

A ROUGH RHYME

Concerning a Remarkable People.

Is a certain Land (whether far or near,
In this or another hemisphere,
It matters not to my purpose here),
Is a singular population:
in many respects they are much like men—
Are of goodly height, say five feet ten—
Can be taught to read and to wave a pen,
And are fond of disputation.

Judging alone from form and face,
You'd never [illegible] belong to the human race:
And think, meanwhile, "If that's the case,
There's no great reason for being proud
If counted in with such a crowd,
Which more than hints that the myth is true
(As told by Swift of the Yahoos)
Once read "Gulliver's Travels" through,
And now aver, that in all his range
From gender to gender and race to change,
No met with nothing more truly strange
Than the subjects of this narrative;
And the worst of it is, I'm sorry to say,
From certain facts that have come in my way,
There are grounds for fear, or at least for doubt,
That this singular race will die out
With the present generation.

The thing that is queerest with this queer folk,
And yet too sad to admit of a joke,
Is that none, when asked, will draw back
Of the *genus homo*, these creatures lack,
And to stand erect, in a manly part,
Have a head, and two, and all on one height,
Is a sheer impossibility:
Their backbones terminate the length of their spine,
Which seems little more than a twist of twine;
Such a vertebral column, you well may opine,
Can't be found in the way of utility.

So its owners must do the best they can—
Play poodle, perhaps, where they can't play man—
Or all have a place in the animal plan,
Even vermin—and *these*, who, their masters to please,
Crawl in the dirt on their hands and knees,
Love the dust with a marvellous ease.
When their lords take snuff, are ready to sneeze:
In short, whatever is most mean
And or in thought, in deed or in word,
Whatever is servile and pusillanimous,
And yet has a strong delight of its own,
If their masters cry, "Down!" it were vain to expect
That they would, if they could, stand a moment erect,
Or venture to bait, so debased have they grown,
That their souls—or the gizzards so called—are their own.
If anything pains is required in this plan,
Or amusing to see these creatures run,
As if serving the Devil were very fun,
Their troops gathered, and were gotten,
Only by those whose hearts are rotten.
They fawn on Power—the weak they oppress—
They cheat the simple and call it "finesse"—
They wriggle and crawl in their loathsomeness,
And their small souls shrivel to less and less,
Till arithmetic fails to express
Their infinitessimal littleness:
And yet they manage, by hook or by crook,
Like that old hypocrite, Pumblebook,
To get themselves into some nice nook
Where they can't be kicked out, and there grown,
And if life's turtle has any *fat*,
'Tis just the place that they'll be at:
And where life's pudding is black with plums,
Is just the *placer* for their thumbs,
And let who will pick at the crumbs,
It was *their* way of dining.

Some "fill the pulpit"—an unfit place,
Perhaps you think, for a plant race—
But a single fact explains the case:
Contending cowardice with grace,
And piety with length of face,
They deem themselves "elected"
As "shepherds of Zion," charged to keep
All *other* wolves from the fold and sleep,
And to "watch and pray" while the lambkins sleep;
(But somehow the *pray*,
Most observers agree,
Though 'tis said by the Lord, is
Is performed with an *e*:)
And "between porch and altar" to howl and weep
For the sins of the rest, whatever well affected
"Sin in the abstract" they spare not at all,
But damn with a zeal that is worthy of Baal:
To touch *old* habits is concerned "awfully, really, to call"
So "complex a matter" in question
Might "injure the public influence,"
Or the "weak brother" give "offense"—
Or interfere, in a double sense,
With some rich brother's digestion:
And dare they thus tempt Providence?
Forbid it, Pudding! forbid it, Pence!
Then they still must jingle their people's role,
And their weekly quantum of Scripture dole
With a sort of holy snuffle,
And a fervent kind of cant thrown in
About "the sinfulness of sin,"
As senseless as your parrot's din,
Which neither the sinner's heart can win,
Nor the sinner's temper ruffle.

But they do not always "draw it mild"
For "the godless" and "unreconciled,"
Nor with broadcloth, set apart as private
Those old proclaims, the Pharisees;
But for crimes long forgotten,
And accomplished sins of the past,
Their lash theologic tan snapper and knot on,
And both they whip and they whittle in each blow,
How hacks that were dust generations ago!
How fervid their zeal! and their courage how rare!
Nor does Popular homage, (we say that *Judas*, whose kiss
Smacks of hell) fail to meet the lovin' of Gammon,
Which teaches the world how to serve God and Mammon—
Libels Christ, and confounds light and darkness. Of course,
If a preacher is not, nor makes pretence to be absurd,
To "offend the dear saints" who "attend on the word,"
Or betray pride and vanity in their "choice of evils";
Have discovered that sin, with the prefix "original,"
Isn't-sin—nor is Satan at all Satanic,
Or that Hell is a figure of speech merely,
And sees that the priest isn't left in the lurch—
And the God they adore is—*the least of two devils.*"

To stations once filled by the good and the wise
They manage, well boosted by boobies, to rise,
Where they lose every trace of humanity and lies,
And balls legislative convert into sizes,
Which, filling the interstices with these
Surpassing all that was ever known
Of the "separate stinks" in old Cologne,
Make the very air sicken and stagnate with fetor—
In fact, I have heard, or dreamed, or read,
Or the thought of itself has popped into my head,
That the right is not safe, nor even the wise so absurd,
Thus *proving* the rule by a single "example."

Three thousand a year, as their nominal pay,
With the "pickings and stealings" that come to their way,
Can't be deemed a high price for the work that they do,
Or the risk that they run, and the syllables
That they raise in behalf of some favorite Lie,
So hurtful by Truth is ready to utter:
Constitute, what meannesses, little and great,
Stealing babes, whipping women, or robbing the State—
Or Widows and orphans, and treasons which cut cod,
They must add, or, at least, must excuse and defend—
How, some man-thief to please, or their purpose to suit,
They must play (*that* requires nerve!) the part brute;
Or (so far as regard for their necks will allow),
Plotting for the treason they dare not avow,
Or, for instance, "Jeff. Davis"—m, h, ugh—s, or C—x,)
With a truculent style that all decency shocks,
Or by writing long articles whose sole syllables
As the Devil could ask from his favorite imp,
Or "accession" itself from its pander and pimp;
Or by writing long articles full of "humbug,"
Nor a tithe of their meanness!—Oh, pay them the gold
For which decency, honor, and conscience are sold!

Some write for the papers, and so *Express*
The full tone of Freedom and Righteousness;
Or, covetous of an evil fame,
Herald, from day to day, their shame;
Or, besides their other duties (if time to read),
That "the fools (and the knaves) are not all dead."
With offal raked from the dirtiest stews,
Or, still more noble, and more to the use,
Stupid "Reviews," and stupider "Views,"
Lies ridiculous and lies insane,
Idiotic, and lies inane.
Double entendres and jests obscene,
Which it is meaning we all that is mean—
The rotten soul of cowardice,
And the cruellest part of every vice—
Every word (and not in the sense),
With whatsoever best expresses
A concentration of nastinesses,
They fill their columns from day to day:
"And better by far it is," they say,
"To serve the devil ready pay,
Than to trust the Lord in always way!"
And the man who buys their devilish wares,
Their lies, their prays, or whatever he swears,
Says, "Right!"—and who the devil cares,
After that, for his oaths or prayers?

'Tis a numerous race, I'm sorry to say,
Of which I have wrote in rhyme to-day—
A race that, just for Devil's pay,
Do his dirtiest work in a devilish way;
And *sooner work* at no other labor,
Under the stars, or under the sun,
And *sooner workers* had never birth
Than idle, or over the earth.

As reptiles, loathesome and most abhorred,
Are suffered to live by the gracious Lord,
So these, for a purpose inscrutable,
Are kept, for a while, like *scabs*—well,
Let us be patient!—for who can tell,
Since Egypt was scourged by a plague of lice,
That a similar curse, in the same place,
Is not a part of the terrible price
Which Peoples must pay for the measureless wrong
That crushes the weak 'neath the heel of the strong!

PHIL. M. LIGONIER.

SENTENCED.—Albert Horn, lately convicted of fitting out a steamer as a slaver, was arraigned for sentence on Saturday. Judge Shipman said the crime for which the prisoner was to be sentenced required calm deliberation, and was not a crime of sudden temptation. He therefore sentenced him to imprisonment at hard labor for five years.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON Nov. 16, 1862.

I CANNOT perceive as yet that *everything* has gone to ruin, although Gen. McClellan *is* at Trenton with his wife, quietly talking over his campaigns. As for the General himself, I am free to confess that he has behaved well since Gen. Buckingham reached him, on that eventful Friday night, with the famous order relieving him from the command of the Army of the Potomac. That is the opinion of all military men here. The President, Mr. Stanton and Gen. Halleck, one and all, so it is said, speak in high terms of Gen. McClellan's conduct since he was removed. It is a common remark that he is behaving much better than many of his friends. And the remark is true. Gen. McClellan is unfortunate in his friends. He does not deserve to be unfortunate in his friends. He does not deserve to be cursed with the friendship of such a man as John Van Buren. Prince John will ruin the political fortunes of almost any man. He cost Seymour several thousand votes. If John had held his tongue during the election-canvass, no doubt Seymour would have got more votes than he actually received. But the Prince will, if possible, damn his friends with his praise. He nominates McClellan for the Presidency. It is enough of itself to kill him! Besides, it is the very worst thing in the world to do for a candidate to bring him out too quick. If the Presidential election were going to take place in January, now would be the time to bring out Little Mac, and I very much doubt that he would sweep the board. But then everything is to occur between this and the next Presidential election. Suppose Burnside goes on and wins a victory, and the Administration prosecutes a successful Winter campaign? Little Mac will then go out of sight. Or, if the South triumphs and separation is fixed, nobody who has had anything to do with the war will have a chance of nomination or election. The people will, in such an event, be sick of the war and our Generals.

But I was speaking of the condition of the army. It is not in open mutiny, and it has not taken possession of Washington and the government, as some people thought would be the case if the favorite General were removed. I have yet to learn that any distinguished officer has resigned his place in the army. A few felt a good deal like doing so, doubtless, but they feared public sentiment in the free States.

The great act of removing McClellan has done more good in giving the President renewed energy than in any other way. Let alone the question of McClellan's military greatness and the policy or impolicy of taking Norfolk, the fact remains that the removal of the General from the command of our great army, Gen. McClellan's friends are all-powerful, and those who suppose that his friends are all of one party do not understand the facts. There are yet hundreds and thousands of Republicans who think there never was quite such a man or General as George B. McClellan. Then there is the great Democratic party at the back of this General. Worse, however, than *that—the army loved McClellan.* But Mr. Lincoln became thoroughly convinced that his leading General was determined to have his own way in the management of the war—that he would not obey the General-in-Chief, nor the Commander-in-Chief. It was time, then, that the removal was made, he the consequences what they might. It was a brave act in the President to remove him, and let him have the credit for it.

There is another thing for which the President deserves praise. He refuses to listen to the Border State men who are crowding round him, and asking him to revoke his Emancipation proclamation. He says squarely *he will not do it.* This is no more than his duty, but at the same time it is praiseworthy in him. *The Republican* of this city professes to have authority for saying that Mr. Seward advises the President to stand by his proclamation. Even Mr. Seward perceives that it will be contemptible to revoke the proclamation. It must be backed up now by all the power of the government, no matter how many Ben. and Fernando Woods there may be in the money-loving, proslavery city of New York.

The rough draft of the message to Congress is made. It is rumored that Mr. Lincoln, in the document, advocates his Emancipation policy at length. As the message will go to all parts of the world, and will gain a bearing where no other argument on our side of the question can, it is to be hoped that Mr. Lincoln will ponder well the subject. Heretofore it has been said in defense of Mr. Lincoln's messages that, if they were plain and awkward in style, yet they suited the common people who were to fight the war and support its vast burdens. True enough. But the time has arrived at a stage in our history when it is important to make an argument before the civilized world. This is a glorious opportunity—just one month before Mr. Lincoln gives freedom to millions of bondsmen. God grant that he may do his work *well!*

I see some of the staunch friends of freedom on our streets to-day. Henry Wilson, Chandler of Michigan, Casey of Kentucky, and others. Wilson deserves a "first-class notice" whenever one can get a chance to write it. He is never ashamed of the cause, and *never* falters in its support. He was down here some time before the session, and he hazarded the prediction that Andrew and Sumner would carry the State of Massachusetts by overwhelming majorities, no matter how bitter the opposition might be. He was a good prophet, and I have generally found him to be exceedingly sagacious in political matters. Gen. Wilson expressed the decided opinion that McClellan would win the battle of Antietam, or rather that he would drive the rebels from Maryland. While he has never been a McClellan worshipper, Henry Wilson has never doubted his ability to win battles when aroused to the pitch of earnest fighting. He thinks now, I believe, that the Administration has done the best and the only thing in its power to do—in removing Gen. McClellan.

Senator Chandler has had a hard fight with the Democrats and conservatives generally in Michigan in the recent canvass. They have fought him with desperation, and are beaten. Mr. Chandler will be reëlected to the Senate, though he is the special object of hatred among pro-slavery men in the West.

I find the subjoined "item" in *The Republican* of this city. As I wish to say a word about it, I will quote it:

"On Saturday evening last, the coffin laundress of the Harewood hospital, Rachel Sutherland, a colored woman who came with in our lines at Acquia Creek, and had General Wadsworth's military protection on her person, was surprised at the hospital by the arrest of her husband, Sandy Sutherland, employed at the Patent Office hospital. She suspected foul play, and requested Dr. Johnson, surgeon in charge, to go with her to the city jail. When there, she was told she could see him, but, as soon as she passed the door, was consigned to a cell. Her three children, infants, were left at the hospital, and her distress was extreme. Dr. Johnson went indignantly, to the Provost-Marshal and demanded redress. On investigation, it proved the notorious *Wise & Allen* had run the husband into the jail, although he had a protection on his person.

"The Provost-Marshal instantly sent down Lieut. Brennan and ten men to procure the bodies of the slaves—peaceably, if he could; forcibly, if he must.

"The guard soon did their duty, and in a short time the Provost Guard having been marched in, the jail guards, seeing that resistance was useless, succumbed, and the two fugitives were brought down and delivered over under protest.

"The mother was restored to her children, and the husband placed under the protection of the bayonets of the United States, at the Patent Office hospital.

I suppose few decent Northern people will read the above without anathematizing the miscreants Wise & Allen, and blaming the Provost-Marshal of Washington. Yet it is the Republican Congress of the United States that is responsible for these outrages. It is the Republican leaders in the House and Senate who perpetrate these outrages. They are done under color of the Fugitive Slave law, and the Republicans do not repeal that law. I am informed, on the best authority, that "Wise & Allen" are doing strictly legal work—that the Republican Congress approves their business, or at least must be so understood, for it has not repealed the law under which these atrocities are perpetrated. *The Republican* says:

"It is about time the infernal business of negro-catching were stopped in this city. There is too much of the free and intelligent Northern element in it. Abolishing the city, to allow the disgrace much longer. Yet it never can be stopped while these villains can pursue their nefarious calling under color of the Fugitive Slave law. Let that law be abolished, and then shoulder all officers of the law who favor such outrageous proceedings as the kidnapping of free people, and we shall be a free city in truth. In the name of humanity, why not stop this foul thing. The cessation was ordered by Buchanan himself; also that Mr. Seward saw Buchanan's order before it was sent to that Congress."

LETTER FROM JOHN BRIGHT.—WM. Cornell Jewett, of Colorado Territory, U. S. of America, now in Paris, having addressed a letter to Mr. JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., with the purpose of convincing that eminent statesman that he ought to aid the Southern rebels in their efforts to secure foreign recognition and intervention, received the following letter:

NORTH WALES, Oct. 17, 1862.

SIR: I will be in town the end of the month from your published views, but little good will result from my interview. If you are for the Union, and think it can be preserved by conciliating the South, I confess I am amazed. They have made war upon you because the Government would by no means consent to their views—are you to yield more under compulsion of the war, or because you can neither conquer the South, or if you subsist as an independent State without it? If you will not yield to their demands, and if you think you can build up with honor a restored and united republic by humbling yourself to the South, I can only express my surprise at the dream which possesses you. You may separate or you may fight out this contest and win—but to leave the slave still a slave will prove you to the contempt of the civilized world. Applaud in Europe who is not a foe to freedom, or moved by base hostility to the American Republic because it is a republic, and because it is powerful. Therein is woe. I will see you. I am respectfully yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

THE FUGITIVE AID SOCIETY OF BOSTON has effected an engagement with MRS. LOUISE DE MORTIE, the talented young colored dramatic reader, to give readings in aid of the suffering sick, aged and infants among the contrabands of Washington. Any facilities which the friends to this cause can put in motion to secure these readings will be gratefully remembered by the Society. *The Liberator* says:

"We earnestly hope, both for the sake of the sufferings and destitute contrabands at Washington, and to bring before the public an accomplished and powerful colored dramatic reader, that Mrs. De Mortie will receive numerous invitations in this State and elsewhere to give specimens of her reading and delineation of character, that she will in every instance give entire satisfaction."

MRS. DE MORTIE is advertised to read at Albany on the 27th inst., and in Brooklyn Dec. 1.

Her friends, and those willing to aid her, may address Mrs. De Mortie for a short time, care of the Editor of this paper.

CAPT. THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, says the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy*, has received from Gen. Rufus Saxton the offer of the Colonelcy of the First Regiment South Carolina Volunteers. It is an office richly unexpected by the Captain, and it is understood he has not yet accepted it, preferring, if it can be arranged, to go first to Beaufort to look into the matter. It is possible that he will obtain leave of absence from the Governor to go to Beaufort and have a personal conference with Gen. Saxton, in which case he will go somewhat this week. It would seem to be a post which he more than almost any other man is qualified to fill.

SEWARD AND BUCHANAN.—Says the Boston *Commonwealth*: "*The Tribune* is incredulous about the connection between the above-named old public functionaries during the last four months of Buchanan's administration. *The Tribune* is singularly weak in consulting its latitude. It is certain that Seward was in consultation with that Administration. Attorney-Gen. Black being the medium. Black is a very different man from the one that superseded him; and through his we have reason that superseded him; and through his we have reason to suppose that the consultation was with Buchanan himself; also that Mr. Seward saw Buchanan's order before it was sent to that Congress."

New Publications.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW for October (L. Scott & Co.'s Reprint, 54 Fulton street) contains nine articles, viz: 1. Essays and Reviews—Dr. Lushington's Judgment; 2. The British Sea Fisheries; 3. Railways, their Cost and Profits; 4. Gibraltar; 5. The Encyclopedia Britannica; 6. Idées Napoléoniennes—the Second Empire; 7. The Religious Difficulties of India; 8. The Slave Power; 9. Contemporary Literature.

The article on the "Slave Power" is a review of Prof. Cairnes's admirable work bearing the same title. In carrying that it is from the pen of J. Stuart Mill, we give our readers the best possible assurance that the review is marked by a spirit of friendliness toward the United States, and a thorough appreciation of the great struggle in which our government is involved. The appearance in which our government is involved. The appearance in which our government is involved. The appearance

Miscellaneous Department.

Published originally in The Commonwealth

THE MASSACHUSETTS JOHN BROWN SONG.

"I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people there was none with me."—Isaiah, lxiii.

Old John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the dust,
Old John Brown's rifle 's red with blood-stains turned to rust,
Old John Brown's pike has made its last, unflinching thrust:
His Soul is marching on!

John Brown was John the Baptist, who showed the coming Lord—
A hero firm and tender as ever wore a sword,
And in the noble Army of Martyrs to the word
His Soul is marching on!

The ear of fire descrying beyond the prison-gloom,
Of all that crowd the calmest, he marched to meet his doom;
The Church, the Bride, no gladder shall go to meet the Groom.
His Soul is marching on!

For treason hung because he struck at treason's root,
When soon Palmetto-tree had ripened treason's fruit,
His dust disquieted stirred at Stanton's last salute—
His Soul is marching on!

Who counsels here from Edom, his garments rolled in blood?
John Brown! who sees the wine-press of the wrath of God
Mo more by him alone but by a people trod.
His Soul is marching on!

"Thou soul the altar under, for crown of martyrdom!
Thy cry 'How long, O Lord?' no longer finds me dumb;
March on!" calls Christ, "the year of my redeemed is come."
His Soul is marching on!

"And ye, the Army of the Lord, his wine-press tread!
March on! mine angels fill the air above your head,
The day that was the Army of the Dead!"
His Soul is marching on!

The pitcher now of compromise away is thrown!
The lamp of faith flames out, and the sword is drawn!
The sword of the Lord, and of Old John Brown!
His Soul is marching on!

We're sung the name that makes Virginia's color fade,
Upon the soil that bore him, as the blood of God;
The day has dawned, for which John Brown so often prayed.
His Soul is marching on!

The Lord hath bared his arm! then make we bare our own!
For God and Country strike the fiend Rebellion down.
For Freedom and the Right! remember Old John Brown!
His Soul is marching on!

Sept. 22, 1862. L. M.

THE PROCLAMATION IN EUROPE.

Correspondence of The Methodist.

PARIS, Oct. 17, 1862.

THE President's proclamation has now been noticed in nearly all the French journals. It is not necessary for me to cite passages; the sum of it all is, pretty much as at home, the Union papers praise the proclamation, while the secession journals abuse it. The only fault found with it by the Liberal journals is its lawyer-like tone, and the absence of any elevated morality of language in the document. Mr. Seward's circular letter accompanying the proclamation is to the subject of slavery what the *Daily Press* cites the circular as characterizing the proclamation simply as *a military act*, and adds that this "is not very satisfactory to those who would wish to see it in a *moral act*."

The Boston National Era of yesterday comments on the statement of the Richmond papers that "the black flag is to be raised," etc., in the following terms: "What did they expect? We have all along predicted the very state of things which now exists. The slaveholders have enjoyed long enough the advantages of a great crime against humanity; they have long enough lived in a luxury purchased by the liberty and lives of millions of their fellow-men. Justice always comes at last, and the day of her work now be done. We should have preferred a peaceful solution of the slavery question, but the partisans of the system themselves have drawn the sword. Mr. Lincoln has hesitated long, but at last he has placed his position of the war on its true basis. Public opinion will approve the act. As for the South, if it really fears a servile war, all it has to do to prevent it is to free the slaves itself."

If any argument is needed to justify the loyal people of the Northern States of the wisdom and policy of the President's proclamation, they will find it in the furious anger of the anti-Union journals of England. These papers hardly pretend now to say a sane-sounding sentence; under the thinnest of possible disguises, they actually teach doctrines that would do credit to Charleston or New Orleans. Their hatred of the free people of the North appears to grow more intense and malignant just in proportion as the probability of a speedy end of freedom's race increases. I verily believe that the present leaders of public opinion in England will be mourners, as sincere as can be found in rebeldom, over the destruction of African slavery.

Correspondence of The Tribune.

TURIN, Oct. 14, 1862.

The proclamation of the President, by which slavery is to be abolished in all the rebel States on Jan. 1, has raised the spirits of all the open or disguised slaveholding papers in England and France, who for a moment have succeeded in making the European public believe that the measure is nothing more than a paper demonstration, affirming glittering generalities, without any practical result. They all wait now for the manner in which Mr. Lincoln's proclamation is to be expounded by the Generals in command. If their action gives life to the President's words, all the intrigues of the pro-slavery party are undone. In fact, it was high time that the European government should at last proclaim the object for which so much blood is shed. Napoleon waited only for good tidings from his army in Mexico in order to recognize the Southern Confederacy, and Gladstone's and Palmerston's words and deeds announced indicate that England, too, is preparing for joining in such a policy. The public, deeply wounded in all the commercial interests by the struggle across the ocean, could not recognize of all they have had before the Winter is ended, the very wealthiest of them will probably have spent the savings of their lives; and if the next winter is terrible in prospect, it is to be feared that the following will be worse. Winter after next will be prodigiously worse, if the workmen, as hitherto, do nothing but *wait* and *hope*."

Such a view as that of my friend is now taken by many Englishmen, and the idea of a vast, immediate emigration of the English workmen to the United States takes root, and I hope that in the coming Spring you will get a considerable increase of English immigrants, different in its character from the Irish emigration.

BEECHER ON SEWARD AND LINCOLN.

From The Independent, Nov. 13.

THE same fatal influence at the centre paralyzed the Cabinet, tied up the President, and then rested upon the army. What that influence was, and by whom wielded, it will be the business of the future to search out. Another chapter is to be added to the history unwritten of the ruin of all our weakness.

Then, it may be, some Macaulay will leave behind such a portrait as this: "Chief in latent influence was a man of ideas which had no physical consequences. An optimist—not without sagacity in merely intellectual problems, but foolish in affairs. He had the very conceit of hope. So certain was he of the favorable tendencies of great natural causes that he scarcely deemed it needful to exert special volitions under them. He was wise in ideas and foolish in things. Whatever could be left to itself was safely and managed skillfully. But it was his infatuation to suppose that all things could be managed by thinking. He was an idealist—rich in the top of his brain; lean and feeble in the bottom. So, all matters that lay upon the earth he treated as if they were shadows, that came and went, without human volition, by the movements of the sun. His realities began where common men's ended, in the realm of mere ideas. He was utterly devoid of the instincts of physical forces. He could hate, but could not fight. Without wisdom in directing practical affairs, he had such acuteness, ingenuity and mind force, that his criticisms and judgments weighed much in the shaping of other men's practical policies. His inordinate hopefulness lit up the funereal, but supernal brightness, and led him to frequent prophecies. And, like all uninspired prophets, the failure of his predictions alienated no jot of confidence in his previous, and so will occasion no disappointments with new promises. He was at once the sealot and the coward of the Administration."

By the side of such a mind was placed a man remarkable in not a few respects. Original, hard to a fault, but, above all, with strong instincts of justice, with strong but homely sense, and with a reasoning faculty unusual in its methods, slow and odd, yet at length reaching broad results, and generally sound ones. Well versed in legal studies, and trained to administration, he became the President of the United States, divided at a time that required the utmost human sagacity, joined to firmness and decision. He was by no means brilliant, but eminently safe. Resisting persuasion and reasonings with singular constancy, he was liable, in certain moods, to accept sudden and unripe advice, and to precipitate rash action. Mistakes arising from these causes, served not so much, through experience, to produce sagacity as to render him fearful of other mistakes, and so, of following any counsel. Upon such a mind the confident counsels of an optimist, whose fortune was built high, and whose courage, physical reality, and long little difficulty in the administration of more ideas, could not fail to be great. When, in perilous times, a President is slow on one side to accept help, but more than there is no need of action, and that waiting is wisdom.

TOO MUCH SAND IN THE BRICKS.

THERE was a Scotch Corporation who wanted to build a bridge. They got a good plan and good men to work it. The bridge was built, and the day was come to open it. The notable men of the county were all present: they had speeches and music, and a good time. The proper time arrived for the first from the arches, the people shouted, and then the bridge with one great crash went down. I will not describe the dismay that came with the ruin. The plans were reconsidered; they were said to be just right. The bridge was rebuilt, and the day came for opening it; but they were not to blame—nobody was to blame; but then the bridge was certainly under instead of over the water, and they must have a bridge. So there was nothing for it but to try again.

Then they got a plan that was better, if possible, than the last. It was certainly different and cost a mint of money. A new builder took charge of the work; the bridge was built with more carefully: the day came to open it, and the people shouted and the music was played again. The proper time arrived for the first passage, and the people shouted again, the music sounded, the bridge stood beautiful in strength and symmetry—the realization of all their desire. It stood fast for a minute, and then the arches on the one side sank, and down went down again. So there was another great consultation, and that bid fair to follow the bridge, when an old man, a practical mason, came forward with a piece of brick, and crumbling it to powder with his fingers, said, "Gentlemen, your plans were good, and your builders were good, but your bricks were bad. There was too much sand in your clay. The Lord never meant a bridge to be built out of such brick as that; the Lord did not make this world so that *it would* build a good bridge out of bad stuff, and so your bridge will keep on going down until you take that sand out of your material."

Now if you ask me to tell you what I think first of all and last of all wrong in the affairs of this ruin that is all about us to-day; why the stately structure built by the fathers has gone down with a great crash, I should answer with this old man, there was too much sand in the brick; if you ask me what is the right place to start in every state in its foundation; if justice had prevailed and they had had their share in government; if in place of scoundrels at the South and doughfaces at the North, honest, straightforward women had been at the head of affairs, there would have been no war. The nation was one great house, and it would not have taken a woman or housekeeper two years to discover that a person was incompetent, and to discharge him, or in the harbor and fast-days and thanksgivings, and in all the solemn and fast-days and thanksgivings, and in all the solemn and fast-days and thanksgivings, and in all the solemn